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ABSTRACT

This document discusses the topic of career education from a variety of viewpoints. Keynoting the paper is a detailed analysis of remarks on the topic made by Sidney Marland at a 1971 meeting of the National Association of Secondary School Principals in Houston; at that point career education as a movement got started. There follows a number of discussions, definitions, and arguments by various authorities concerning the concept of work and how it applies to career education. A final selection considers the implications of these varying opinions and the present position of the National Institute of Education. (JB)

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OPENING THE DOORS OF OPPORTUNITY

(Part 4 of the ERIC Clearinghouse
on Teacher Education Project
on Career Education)

by

Moira B. Mathieson

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EDUCATION & WELFARE
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FOREWORD

This literature review is the fourth part of a project on career and vocational education undertaken by the ERIC Clearinghouse on Teacher Education under special funding provided by the National Center for Educational Communications, U.S. Office of Education (many of whose functions are now a part of the National Institute of Education). The effort is to bring together ideas and information which can enable the nation to help its prospective citizens to gain an understanding of the economic, psychological, and social implications of work. The related activities in the project are (a) a bibliography of bibliographies on career and vocational education; (b) an in-depth survey of existing programs for teacher education in career and vocational areas; and (c) a paper on the theory and rationale of career education. The overall impact of the project, hopefully, can be rather strong: a better understanding of the implications of career education, identification of gaps in the idea and knowledge base to be filled, and motivation to take action on every level in education.

The activities of this project, then, are essentially to create a clearer picture of the state-of-the-art now. As always, the expectation is that needed actions can more intelligently follow. Our initial conclusion is that there is a dearth of bonafide career education material reported in the ERIC system or available elsewhere. While there are many, many documents on vocational and technical education, there appears to be little authentic documentation of the field of career education broadly conceived.

You may do further research on this topic by checking issues of Research in Education (RIE) and Current Index to Journals in Education (CIJE). Both RIE and CIJE use the same descriptors (index terms). Documents in RIE are listed in blocks according to the clearinghouse code letters which processed them, beginning with the ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education (AC) and ending with the ERIC Clearinghouse on Vocational and Technical Education (VT). The clearinghouse code letters, which are listed at the beginning of RIE, appear opposite the ED number at the beginning of each entry. "SP" (School Personnel) designates documents processed by the ERIC Clearinghouse on Teacher Education.

In addition to using the ERIC Thesaurus, RIE, CIJE, and various ERIC indexes, you will find it helpful to be placed on the mailing list of the ERIC clearinghouses which are likely to abstract and index as well as develop publications pertinent to your needs and interests.

For readers uncertain how to use ERIC capabilities effectively, we recommend the following materials which are available in microfiche and hardcopy through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service: (a) How To

Conduct a Search Through ERIC, ED 036 499, microfiche $.65, hardcopy $3.29; (b) Instructional Materials on Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC). Part Two. Information Sheets on ERIC, ED 043 580, microfiche $.65; hardcopy $3.29. Item "b" is available as a complimentary item, while the supply lasts, from this Clearinghouse.

--Joel L. Burdin
Director

October 1973

INTRODUCTION

That education is for the people is commonly accepted. There was also once agreement that our schools provided the tools and the orientation for adult careers.

Now there are new expressions about our schools' ability to provide the foundation for productive vocations. Technology and its concomitant of constant change have certainly stimulated the inquiries. One upshot has been the focus on career education, as well as on community- and industry-based educational models.

New courses are injected into curriculums. New kits and paraphernalia are developed. Startling recommendations come from counseling agents. This is apparently in response to the new demands of career education.

What is career education? Alas, there seem to be many definitions for it and a variety of recommendations for its application. This is a serious concern and will continue to be so.

Mathieson has provided a carefully constructed synthesis of ideas and expressions addressed to career education. Any consumer of educational material will welcome this contribution to the literature. It is a valuable tool to assist us in further study of the topic and the framing of dialog.

The writer nicely points out the diversity of thought on career education: from the idea that it will propel the citizenry again into the traditional work ethic to the notion that career education portends a vast new appraisal of our schooling endeavors. In her paper we find the voices of many people involved in career education discussing their views. Considerations are deftly directed at the reader. Should we doctor up the curriculum with new vocational studies and insert redesigned skills, or do we need to reexamine the total curriculum to determine its impact and value for today's youth? How will this affect members of minority groups? What changes in school curriculum and teacher education can be considered?

Mathieson brings out for us the lack of consensus on career education and shows that there is need for closer examination and discussion before the commitment stage is reached. We are grateful for this careful research and skillful focusing of the issues.

Chandler Barbour
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October 1973

ABSTRACT

This document discusses the topic of career education from a variety of viewpoints. Keynoting the paper is a detailed analysis of remarks on the topic made by Sidney Marland at a 1971 meeting of the National Association of Secondary School Principals in Houston; at that point career education as a movement got started. There follows a number of discussions, definitions, and arguments by various authorities concerning the concept of work and how it applies to career education. A final selection considers the implications of these varying opinions and the present position of the National Institute of Education. (JB)

ERIC DESCRIPTORS

To expand a bibliography using ERIC, descriptors or search terms are used. To use a descriptor: (1) Look up the descriptor in the SUBJECT INDEX of monthly, semi-annual, or annual issue of Research in Education (RIE). (2) Beneath the descriptors you will find title(s) of documents. Decide which title(s) you wish to pursue. (3) Note the "ED" number beside the title. (4) Look up the "ED" number in the "DOCUMENT RESUME SECTION" of the appropriate issue of RIE. With the number you will find a summary of the document and often the document's cost in microfiche and/or hardcopy. (5) Repeat the above procedure, if desired, for other issues of RIE and for other descriptors. (6) For information about how to order ERIC documents, turn to the back pages of RIE. (7) Indexes and annotations of journal articles can be found in Current Index to Journals in Education by following the same procedure. Periodical articles cannot be secured through ERIC.

TOPIC: *"Opening the Doors of Opportunity."*

DESCRIPTORS TO USE IN CONTINUING SEARCH OF RIE AND CIJE:

*Career Education	Occupational Aspiration
*Career Planning	Vocational Adjustment
Career Choice	*Work Attitudes
*Goal Orientation	Work Experience

*Asterisk(s) indicate major descriptors.

I like work: it fascinates me. I can sit and look at it for hours. I love to keep it by me: the idea of getting rid of it nearly breaks my heart.

Jerome K. Jerome,
Three Men in a Boat

THE GENESIS OF CAREER EDUCATION

Who first invented work and bound the free
And holiday-rejoicing spirit down?

Charles Lamb, "Work"

Career education may well be one of the most discussed and least understood concepts in education today. In its current context it was introduced in a January 1971 speech by then-Commissioner of Education Sidney P. Marland at the convention of the National Association of Secondary School Principals in Houston. Since then, Marland has spent a good deal of time elaborating on his original remarks and attempting to clarify his views on career education, while avoiding a firm definition of the term. As he said in a conversation with James D. Koerner of the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, "We are not ready at this time to give a sharp definition of what we call Career Education."[1]

In another speech in November 1972 to the NASSP in Washington, Marland commented:

> If you ask what I had in mind that January day in Houston when I first spoke of career education, let me assure you that it was not that the Office of Education, with my novice hand at the tiller, should immediately undertake a rejection of the liberal, humanistic tradition of education in favor of a strictly pragmatic, utilitarian approach focused entirely on employment and income. But what I was thinking of, and what I tried to express, was my concern--my fright, really--at the continuing failure of the schools to serve fully a third of the young people attending them. I was concerned . . . with the swelling numbers of young American boys and girls listlessly, apparently helplessly, entering their names on the rolls of the unemployed, not because they lack talent, but because the schools have not given them a decent or fair preparation for the hard, competitive business of life--including, of course, adequate job skills, but certainly not limited to that area.[2]

In his conversation with Koerner, Marland went on to discuss his ideas in some detail, stressing his belief that career education should involve more than mere training for a specific job or group of jobs.

> Career Education is a way to prepare all people, equip all people, for what they want to do in the world. Career Education is still a concept, not a program, not a blueprint, not a set of do-this-and-do-that. As a concept it is all inclusive, ranging from very early elementary grades through secondary and post-secondary education, certainly through professional school, where it is most germane and where people truly seem to know what they want to do and are doing it. I would also point out that vocational training, as it has been perceived since 1917 under the Smith-Hughes Act, is sometimes a component, and a very useful and interesting and relevant component, of Career Education, but far from the whole of it.[3]

Quoting James Coleman, he outlined the limitations placed on the student in the modern world, as contrasted with the close contacts with a wider world of working and living experienced as recently as the first decades of this century.

> But the student role is not a role of taking action and experiencing consequences. It is not a role by which one learns by hard knocks. It is a relatively passive role, always in preparation for action, but never acting. . . . They [the young] are shielded from responsibility, and they become irresponsible; they are held in a dependent status, and they come to act as dependents; they are kept away from productive work, and they become unproductive.[4]

Referring to the specific concerns of the Council for Basic Education, Marland said:

> The things you speak of in basic education are essential not only to Career Education but to free society itself. You speak of English, science, mathematics, history, and foreign languages. I would add music and art and drama and something that would speak to the social sciences other than history.[5]

Finally, returning to his initial caveat:

> But the worse possible way to bring about a major reform in education, so that education begins to work for all our people, so we don't have 18 million illiterates in this country, as we now have, would be to provide a Federal blueprint. . . .
>
> The point is to inform young people about life's opportunities for work and to help them to make choices at whatever point they want to spin off from the system, and to equip them for that, whether it is early on or late on or even at middle age or later. . . . We are talking about ways in which the youngster grows, and we are saying that the school should help equip him to judge his options and to equip himself with some control on his own part and his family's part, and not leave it all to chance.[6]

The same viewpoint is stressed in the foreword which Marland wrote to *Essays on Career Education.**

> Broadly stated, Career Education seeks to remove the assumed distinctions between academic and occupational learning programs, blending them to serve all learners at all levels of instruction in their quest for productive careers and rewarding lives.[7]

He quotes some of the objections frequently cited against career education.

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*This is a collection of twenty-three essays covering all aspects of career education from many points of view. It is highly recommended reading for anyone involved in this topic.

> Were we bent upon an anti-intellectual azimuth that would deny the historic meaning of the liberal arts? Were we so preoccupied with occupational fulfillment that we endangered the ultimate educational ideal of personal, social, emotional, and humanistic fulfillment? Were we thoughtlessly extolling the virtues of technical education (such as community colleges) to the corresponding implied disparagement of the liberal arts institution? Were we seeking to track minority students into "blue collar" jobs just at the time when the college doors were being opened wider? Were we accentuating the "work ethic" at a time when some young people believed they had found a nobler motivation than economic gain? . . .
>
> It is important to note here that we had declined, and to this date continue to decline, to lay out a concrete Federal definition of Career Education. We have chosen to shun a Federal "approved solution," believing that if the notion has merit, it must be defined within general parameters jointly developed by the teachers, counselors, board of education members, college faculties, superintendents, and deans, and the constituencies of parents and students whom we serve. Some observers find this frustrating and even, perhaps, irresponsible.[8]

While respecting his wish to avoid imposing a rigid methodology for career education, one may question Marland's faith that any coherent program will result from the hoped-for cooperation of so many disparate groups with widely varying clout in the educational world. The great danger is that the whole idea will be dispersed in a number of unrelated experiments leading probably to a point little if at all in advance of the present position. There is certainly little sign of consensus in what has been written up to now.

Marland's remarks reflect a much broader definition than the one he provided in an article for the December 1972 issue of *Educational Leadership* that reflects the attitudes frequently atributed to him and to the U.S. Office of Education.

> The concept I voiced two years ago has since become known as "career development" or "career education." I prefer the latter term, since it implies a structured orientation and preparation program for every student as an integral part of his academic course work throughout the school and college years. Whatever terminology we use, inherent in the concept is the principle that our schools and colleges are accountable to students not only for developing their problem-solving skills, self-awareness, and social consciousness, but for equipping them as well to earn a living in a personally satisfying career field. . . .
>
> . . . Every state now, with the encouragement of the U.S. Office of Education, has an industry-education-labor coordinator on whom schools can call for help and technical assistance. What is most often needed is school initiative and enthusiasm to put it all together.[9]

When we examine some of the other definitions of career education which have appeared in the past two years, the wide range of interpretation becomes apparent, and some fundamental questions are raised which reflect conflicting understandings not only of this concept but of the whole purpose of education. This paper is concerned with an examination of these differing points of view and of the underlying philosophies which generated them.

One of the confusions in defining career education stems from a certain fuzziness in thinking which makes it difficult to separate ideas about what career education should be from those involving consideration of the overall goals of education. This is less of a problem for those who see career education as essentially an extension and expansion of vocational education. After a passing acknowledgement that career education should not be regarded as the only requirement of education, they are free to define their quite logical parameters. It is when career education is given a wider interpretation that the real problems begin. If we accept Marland's statement that "career education, then, in the broadest, most philosophical sense, is really a change of mind and a change of heart,"[10] we are faced with the need not just to integrate a career focus into all aspects of the curriculum but to do some basic thinking about what we expect from education and what we really understand by the word "career."

Life is never tidy, and writers on education are not exempt from this condition. To provide some measure of clarity, I have divided the sources being studied into two groups: those concerned primarily with training for jobs, at whatever level, and those concerned primarily with the philosophical problems. At some points the two groups approach each other and even overlap, at others they seem to be in total conflict. Certainly there is no easy solution, since the desirable outcome must inevitably depend on personal preferences. Further thoughts on this must wait until the end of the paper, after we have looked at some of the options.

LIFE IS REAL! LIFE IS EARNEST!

While Longfellow was not thinking of the problems of the "world of work" when he wrote "A Psalm of Life," by quoting selectively from it we can come up with a rather convincing anthem for the "work-is-what-really-matters" school of thought.

Life is real! Life is earnest!
And the grave is not its goal.
. . . . . .
Not enjoyment, and not sorrow
Is our destined end or way;
But to act, that each tomorrow
Find us further than today.
. . . . . .

Let us, then, be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
*Learn to labor and to wait.**

Dull appears to see career education as essentially a preparation for the world of work.

> Career education is a systematic way to acquaint children with the world of work in the elementary and junior high years and to prepare them in high school and college to enter and advance in a career field carefully chosen from among many.11

He spells out some of the characteristics which he regards as necessary for a successful career education program. They include a) respect for the needs of the community, b) a combination of work experience and a broad career information effort, c) the use of workers and professionals as resources to support classroom teachers, d) in-service programs for teachers, e) the integration of existing subject matter in high schools, and f) the use of the entire community as a learning laboratory. He also lists some of the limitations which must be recognized--a necessary warning which seems to have been overlooked by many career education advocates.

1. Care must be exercised to avoid work-study programs as a back entrance into child labor.

2. Career education must not be used to discourage the disadvantaged in seeking admission to college.

3. Educational planners must not oversell this program as a panacea.

4. The academically-oriented community must be solicited for support in order to restructure the curriculum successfully.

5. Necessary funds that might be needed to mount a vigorous restructuring of the curriculum may be difficult to secure from the electorate.

6. It is not yet known whether business and industry will cooperate in providing sufficient opportunities for work-study programs.

7. The consumption market for workers must be studied carefully by educators lest we produce too many trained people for jobs available.

8. The trend of the American economy is "anti-youth" in the sense that employers prefer to hire people in their twenties rather than in their teens. The key to successful career education--the expansion of work-study programs--runs counter to present trends. An

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*In fairness to a poet who, though now unfashionable, is still a favorite with me, I should point out that the omitted sections make it clear that he is speaking not of day-to-day jobs but of man's ability to leave behind some achievement, some "footprint on the sands of time," to serve as inspiration to later generations.

educational campaign will need to be conducted with business and industrial leaders to overcome anti-youth employment tendencies.

9. While career education is fostered, we must continue as always to teach boys and girls how to read, write, talk, and calculate.[12]

Koerner's comment in his conversation with Marland also stresses the extreme importance of this last point, which is often overlooked in the writing on career education.

> It seems to me that most employers' complaints about new employees, high school graduates, come about not because these graduates lack specific job skills, but because they lack elementary literacy.[13]

Rogers, in his excellent examination of vocational education to which I shall refer in more detail later, makes the same point.

> Vocational high schools do not effectively train students for particular jobs, as indicated by the overwhelming numbers who seem to go into occupations for which they were not explicitly trained. Numerous surveys indicate that less than 50 percent of vocational education graduates and often considerably less than that take jobs related to their field of training. This suggests once again the importance of pressing secondary vocational education to provide more basic education and generalized skills training and much less specific training for particular jobs.[14]

And:

> A strong effort should be made, however, to de-emphasize any specific skills training for particular occupations at the high school level, in favor of much more generalized training in technical and problem-solving skills and a basic education that is transferable to a broad range of occupations.[15]

The logic of this seems to me to be so obvious that it is hard to understand why so many institutions should continue to train, and so many educators should continue to support the training of, students for occupations which are already in decline, not to mention the many that will probably become obsolete during the next twenty or thirty years.

Sheggrud, writing on career education activities also opts for the traditional work ethic.

> The role of all personnel at the elementary school level in relation to Career Education involves the development of positive attitudes toward oneself and the work world and the learning of information about oneself and the work world. The goal in the primary grades (K-3) mainly involves setting up a school environment which allows children the opportunity to make mistakes and learn from the experience. The development of positive attitudes toward workers involves an understanding and acceptance of the dignity and worth of every worker. The intermediate grades (4-6)

have the objective of building on the program of the primary grades and developing an orientation to the world of work and the role that individual workers play in it.[16]

A *Washington Monitor* summary of curriculum development objectives for career education in Peoria, Illinois defined career education in these terms:

> To give students a greater knowledge of career goals and potentials . . . to provide each student with: an understanding of careers; positive attitudes toward himself; and understanding of his career role and those of others; increased skill in decision making; opportunties to develop "skill awareness"; and a comprehension of the relationship between a career and education.[17]

Herr's *Review and Synthesis of Foundations for Career Education* has a natural and legitimate bias towards vocational training (it was published by the ERIC Clearinghouse on Vocational and Technical Education), but Herr also makes it clear that career education has broader implications.

> Career Education is not synonymous with Vocational Education but Vocational Education is a major part of career education. . . .
>
> The term "career education" represents a synthesis and blend of many concepts and elements available at some point and in some place in American education. However, the intent and implementation tactics so far apparent are to bring these concepts and elements into a new and systematic interrelationship among vocational education, vocational guidance, career development and other elements of the educational and community networks of which they are a part. . . .
>
> While there was validity to an emphasis on preparing persons on the basis of industrial or occupational demand, such an emphasis needs to accommodate the manifold opportunity for expressing choice and individual preference in the present occupational/educational structure as well as in that of the future. . . . education must acknowledge directly and programmatically ways of helping persons locate themselves and find their occupational, educational, and personal mobility in a constructive and informed fashion in addition to being prepared to be productive. . . .
>
> It seems conceivable that the current emphasis on developing "personal competence" as well as "competent persons" is a reaction to the changing characteristics of work, the acceleration of opportunities for personal choice and fulfillment in work alternatives, as well as growing awareness of the effective component of choice and work behavior. As indicated previously, several observers have addressed the "burden of decision" faced by current youth. This coupled with the rapidity of change in the personal and social aspects of life lay stress upon providing not only the skills required to be productive but the attitudinal support which

permits one to be committed to being productive, to identify himself as a competent person, and maximize ways of choosing preferred ways of being productive.[18]

The traditional work ethic is also cited by Worthington:

The fundamental concept of career education is that all educational experiences, curriculum, instruction, and counseling should be geared to preparing each individual for a life of economic independence, personal fulfillment, and an appreciation of the dignity of work. Its main purpose is to prepare all students for successful and rewarding lives.[18]

The introductory material to a *Career Education Resource Guide*, while echoing many of these views, adds an extra dimension by presenting the subject as a matter of international concern and suggesting that a failure to support a work-oriented career education program is more or less synonymous with a lack of patriotism--a theory which has not occurred elsewhere in the sources studied.

Far too many of our students still see no apparent relationship between what they are being asked to learn in school and what they will some day do to earn a living. . . .

. . . Career education must be seen as representing only a part of American education, not an entire restructuring of our entire educational system. Certainly, career education should, in no way, be viewed as an alternative educational system designed to replace what now exists. Career education must be viewed, rather, as a concept to be integrated into the total educational system in ways that enhance, rather than detract from, all other worthy educational goals. . . .

. . . There exists today no single definition of career education that has attained universal acceptance. It is likely that this condition will continue to exist. After all, why should "career education" be different from any other educational concept? . . .

Career education represents the total effort of public education and the community to help all individuals become familiar with the value of work oriented society, to integrate those values into their personal value structure, and to implement those values in their lives in ways that make work possible, meaningful, and satisfying to each individual. . . .

The basic rationale for career education is found in the need to restore the work ethic as a viable and effective force in American society. Erosion of the work ethic in our society has been occurring over the last thirty years due to a variety of societal forces and conditions. It has now reached a stage where the United States is in danger of losing its position as the leading nation in the world. The relative loss of the work ethic in our country, coupled with the relative gains of the work ethic in such countries

as Russia and the Peoples Republic of China, is seen, by many people, as a basic reason why such countries appear to be catching up with the United States as leading world powers. It is a very serious thing indeed. . . .

. . . There is no reason to believe that the United States of America is exempt from this historical pattern [that countries decline when they abandon their commitment to the work ethic]. This realization, more than any other, stands as the basic driving force behind the sudden insertion of the career education movement into American society in general and into American schools in particular.[20]

No evidence is offered to support this final statement, and I see no reason to accept it in preference to the rationale offered by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. I certainly hope that it is not true, because it would be both an unrealistic and an unwise foundation on which to build a new direction in education and one which, unless supported by many more cogent reasons for the change, would offer little chance of success.

Another essentially joyless prospect is offered by William Pierce, Deputy Commissioner for Occupational and Adult Education in the Office of Education, in an article in *American Education*.

This in essence is what the career education approach is all about: to reform and refocus education so that what is taught in the classroom has a clear, demonstrable bearing on the student's future plans--whether these plans be to find a job immediately, to go on to college or graduate school or some other form of advanced training, or to enter the world of work for a time and then return to education, and in any case to enable a student to go forward secure in the knowledge that he or she is prepared to deal with the world on its own terms.

Reform of this nature has two basic aspects. The first is that students must acquire an understanding of the options open to them. Beginning at an early age, they must learn what work means, the range of careers open to young Americans today, and the kinds of careers that may emerge in the future; they must learn the special obligations and requirements of careers that capture their interest, and as they progress in school they must be enabled to acquire specific skills--by which I do not have in mind just mechanical skills but the fundamental academic skills as well. . . .

. . . Teachers do not have the right to impose their values on students, to presume that because they are fascinated by calculus or clay modeling, their students automatically must be so, too. . . .

So far as the arts and humanities are concerned, it would seem to me reasonable to suggest that every student should indeed receive a basic and well-calculated exposure to these branches of learning --not because he or she will be better off "later on," however,

but as part of a general strategy for helping students to understand what the various arts and humanities disciplines involve and, on that basis and on the basis of what they have learned of other disciplines and other career options, to decide whether to take up *one of them as lifelong pursuit*. . . .

In short, the career education concept boils down to an attitude--a mind set. It is a way of thinking, a point of view which holds that learning cannot be seen as an abstraction, divorced from the realities of life, and that the commitment must be to the learner.[21]

It seems very sad to relegate the arts and humanities to a role as merely additional options in the job market. This approach leaves out of account the thousands of people on all levels of society who will never make a living as musicians, artists, actors, or wood carvers but who find great satisfaction in attending operas or rock concerts, who visit art museums or neighborhood art shows, and who engage in many kinds of hobbies and crafts that are in no way related to their "working" lives. They have usually started these activities because of the enthusiasm of some other person, and that other person may well have been a teacher. Their lives would be much poorer if they were never given either the opportunity or the encouragement to engage in activities from which they will probably never earn a single dollar but which contribute immeasurably to the fullness of their living.

"The present generation of young people is engulfed in a whirlpool of change,"[22] says Venn in a special issue of the *NASSP Bulletin* devoted to career education, and he emphasizes the need to expand the education area to include more than the traditional school situation.

Career education is not a program, a course, a method, or a specific educational reform that will save education or solve all its problems. It is a concept, an approach to learning that represents expanded options for youth in school and renewal opportunities for those who have stopped school or are employed. It is a way to provide actual experience in real life situations, relating education to our future careers and offering motivation for learning in school while developing skills which are salable. . . .

First, any program to prepare people for the future outside or apart from the educational mainstream will be seen as second class by those enrolled, by those who employ the graduates, and by those who pay the bill.

Second, an overemphasis on remediation and correction rather than on development and prevention of human failure will not solve the immediate problems nor will it help the primary institution, the schools, to change. It will also cost more.

Third, emphasis on entry job skills and employment are not enough to help the most needy, the average or the most talented. Every person aspires to a future career which has vertical and horizontal mobility as well as individual purpose. . . .

It is equally obvious that the schools cannot do the job alone and new relationships between the schools, business and industry, employers, government, and other social agencies will be required. Exactly the form these relationships should or will take is not certain, but the transition from school into society as a contributing individual cannot be accomplished inside the school.[23]

A well-known proponent of career education is Kenneth Hoyt, who is frequently seen as advocating a philosophy which is too work oriented. Hoyt makes the valid comment that "career education currently suffers from too much 'selling' and too little serious study,"[24] but he has his own sales pitch to make.

> Career education is not all education, but only one of a number of worthy educational goals.
>
> - The objectives of career education are to help *all* individuals want to work, *acquire* work skills, and *find* employment.
> - The *goals* of career education are to make work *possible, meaningful,* and *satisfying* to each individual. This will demand new ways of viewing work values over and beyond the classic Protestant work ethic. . . .
>
> . . . A mathematics class is vocational skill training for the prospective engineer or mathematician just as a machine shops class is vocational skill training for the prospective machinist.
>
> Through this reasoning, it is hoped that we can eliminate the false notion that only a part of the school called "vocational education" prepares students to work while the remainder of the school exists for other purposes.[25]

Rogers' valuable study of vocational and career education in the *Teachers College Record* should be read by anyone seriously concerned with this question. It is an attempt to provide, in his own words, "a critical analysis of the workings of the main agencies involved in manpower and vocational training for youth, concentrating heavily on vocational high schools."[26] It is a sober and detailed study, built on a solidly factual foundation. Rogers also reminds us that career education programs alone cannot solve all our work-related problems.

> [Career education] is an attempt to change the entire educational system, from kindergarten through post-secondary education, by diagnosing the shortcomings of both vocational and academic training in the context of their mutual isolation. The movement has, not unexpectedly, many critics who argue that it is in reality just the most recent fad; that it is old wine with a new label; that it remains a well kept secret in Washington, not having been articulated or spelled out to any degree; that it constitutes a new fundamentalism, placing great stress on the work ethic without a corresponding emphasis on creating new jobs and restructuring old ones so that more people can be employed; that it hurts the disadvantaged and other minorities who need help the most by designating all students as its target population; and that it may

reinforce inequality in another way by allowing for the tracking of minority students very early in school, thereby limiting their options when it in fact claims it is expanding them. . . .

. . . Far from being just another fad, and far from its leading advocates having the familiar "discoverers' complex" with which they are charged, the career education movement, as enunciated in the recent literature, synthesizes many of the best reform ideas of the past decade from the various exemplary programs that have been tried out and proposes to apply them in a systemic way, not just to vocational high schools, but to the entire system of public education. . . .

. . . It is difficult to hold onto the work ethic and to be motivated toward further education and training when jobs at decent wages are not available.[27]

Evans feels that the opportunity for improvement is important.

From the standpoint of the individual, an ideal career may be defined as a succession of work experiences, each of which is personally more satisfying than the one which precedes it. Such an ideal career is much more likely to be reached if it has a firm base in career education; if the student, whether youth or adult, learns that satisfactions are built on more than immediate earnings; if the student learns more and more about his or her interests and capabilities in relationship to the needs of society, and if he or she is taught that there are preferred ways of securing and evaluating jobs.[28]

The existence of other important facets in everyone's life is referred to by Miller and Daugherty, who also note how these are affected by what we do for a living.

The occupational role--the role of a producer of goods or a renderer of services--is central to each of the other roles [citizen in a community; a member of a family; a participant in avocational activities; and a participant in aesthetic, religious, and moral activities]. One's life style is frequently determined by what one does for a "living." Therefore, it is imperative that we reconsider the assumptions, experiences, information, and procedures that have been (and are being) used to help an individual develop his identity in his occupation role. For educators, this means infusing the career development concept into a school system's curriculum and guidance services.[29]

A recurrent theme in these writings is that work is morally desirable and that anyone who does not work should be, if not condemned and punished, at least led back into the mainstream of society. One might question whether this belief is applied at all social levels. While there have always been examples of wealthy men who have still felt, for whatever reason, the compulsion to work, there have been and are many more who gladly stop work as soon as they can afford to. They apparently feel no guilt and receive no condemnation from society. With the increasing

enthusiasm for earlier and earlier retirement, it is difficult to come up with a convincing argument that work, any work, is good per se. While it seems to me to be reasonable to expect that the able-bodied adult should not deliberately choose to become a "charge upon the community," that does not require that anyone should be expected to work more than he or she wishes, once basic needs have been met. It is also strange that there should be so much emphasis placed on producing productive adults for the "world of work" at a time when technology is increasingly reducing the number of people needed for many lower-level jobs. Is everybody going to be a manager? How about some education for living, so that increased free time can be more fully used?

A strong feeling of the Puritan ethic comes through in a paper by Sterling McMurrin, a former U.S. Commissioner of Education who is now Dean of the Graduate School, University of Utah.

> All education, in addition to whatever else it may be, should be Career Education. . . .
>
> . . . Anything worthy to be called "education" must be relevant to the cultivation of those capabilities and qualities that make possible or in various ways enhance a career. . . .
>
> . . . But for the most part, alienation from work is generally regarded as an aberration of our society that should be, and we hope can be, corrected. Indeed, the attempt to correct it is perhaps the main thrust of the current emphasis on Career Education. At any rate, that many thousands of our people are not affected by the life patterns associated with work is not generally accepted as either a normal or desirable state of affairs.[30]

With a final acknowledgment that other values do exist:

> Career Education must mean not simply preparation in the knowledge and skills requisite for success in some line of work. It must also mean the cultivation of those artistic and moral sensibilities and qualities of intellect that mean success in living in the larger sense.[31]

Garth Mangum, another professor from the University of Utah, shares some of McMurrin's opinions.

> Career Education identifies a lengthy set of prerequisites for successful careers and attempts to contribute to their attainment: good mental and physical health; human relations skills; a commitment to honest work as the source of income; and a willingness to accept the discipline of the workplace and to be motivated toward achievement in the work setting. It also requires all of the basic skills of communication and computation and a basic familarity with the concepts of science and technology, plus a saleable skill in demand in the job market.[32]

He also draws attention to the fact that certain skills must always be learned on the job.

> Even the best of vocational education prepares people only for entry-level jobs. College graduation rarely prepares an individual to become immediately productive. Nearly everyone learns his job on the job. For that reason many employers prefer to rely on on-the-job training. But they base it on selection processes that screen out those with substandard preparation.[33]

Another writer, Edwin Stanley, president of Data-Time, suggests a way in which such learning could be introduced into the schools to give students a better idea of what awaits them in the working world.

> Were I to have a hand in designing the educational program of a new community, I would try wherever possible to buy the services of those who are involved with community problems on a day-to-day basis. I would go to a lawyer who charges $50 an hour for his services and buy some of his time each month to conduct seminars on the legal aspects of good citizenship. This educational program would be available to youth, employees, and senior citizens as well. Anyone, "school-aged" or not, should be served. People must come to see that education is a process that does not end after graduation and job entry.[34]

A final point made by several writers relates to the growing requirement for a degree before an applicant is considered for a job, even though there may be absolutely no correspondence between the job requirements and the educational experience represented by that degree.

> A serious approach to Career Education has to differentiate between the person who holds a degree but lacks education and a person who lacks a degree but still is well educated--even well read.[35]

And:

> Jobs *are* withheld from those who don't possess a certain diploma. The diplomas, however, are screening devices. The job-dispensing agencies are not really interested in what the job seeker has learned in the school, but merely that, for whatever reason, he has survived it.[36]

Bailey has a suggestion which deserves to be considered.

> "Competency-based credentialism" is a rather fat phrase for a fairly muscular idea: persons should be awarded academic credits and degrees, or occupational licences and certificates, on the basis of proven performance rather than on the basis of formal classes attended, prescribed courses completed, or arbitrary amounts of time served in a particular learning role. . . .
>
> It is my hunch that if Career Education were to become a major focus of all American education, far more attention would be given to creating a competency-based credentialling system. For without some organizing principle like Career Education, our educative systems tend to be formalistic, restrictive, and culturally precious on the one hand or narrowly vocational on the other.[37]

This is a suggestion that would run into much opposition--from those enjoying good jobs on the strength of degrees that do not represent very realistic training, as well as those who make their living by helping to provide those degrees. "Competency-based credentials" could increase the value of academic qualifications, as well as of other skills, by eliminating all those which have been "earned" merely by sitting through the required number of lectures.

SOME THOUGHTS ON MINORITIES AND CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Oh let us love our occupations,
. . . . . .
Live upon our daily rations,
And always know our proper stations.

Charles Dickens, *The Chimes*

Many members of minority groups would agree that this nineteenth century English precept regarding the "proper stations" of the working classes is alive and well in the twentieth century United States. The belief that people have certain social and ecomomic levels on which they should be content to remain is one of the less desirable aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture imported into the New World. It represents a serious distortion of the open-ended command of the Book of Commom Prayer--"to do my duty in that state of life unto which it *shall* please God to call me"--to the closed world of "that state of life to which it *has* pleased God to call me" [italics added].

In the statements of the past two years, career education has been described as applying to all students, but certain danger signals have been noted by some observers. Harold Howe of the Ford Foundation expresses concern:

> One source of criticism of career education has been from minority group people, who have expressed fears that it might become a device to limit rather than to enhance their horizons by relegating their children to vocationally rather than academically oriented schooling.[38]

This concern is shared by Rogers.

> There is now a danger that career education will once more shift the priorities and dilute emphasis placed on the disadvantaged. It is important to emphasize the grave costs of such a strategy and to push career education advocates to continue to stress the disadvantaged as their main target population. This should include youth from white ethnic groups as well as blacks, Puerto Ricans, Indians, and Chicanos. In fact, the more that class rather than race and ethnic criteria are used, the better.[39]

On the other hand, Lawrence Davenport of Tuskegee Institute demonstrates the lack of agreement even on this matter.

> The concept of Career Education holds greater promise for black students to attain a good education and preparation for interesting and constructive careers than any of the civil rights acts, Supreme Court decisions, and plans for improving education for blacks that have occurred in recent years. . . .
>
> We must have a system that takes into account the varying abilities and aspirations of students and offers a variety of options. We must stop trying to force every student into the same mold. If we were to encourage young people to develop their special talents, whatever they may be, we might discover reserves of human potential that would amaze us. . . .
>
> Career Education can lead the student to a law or medical degree, or it can lead to equally desirable non-degree career programs such as those for computer programmers, television and radio technicians, and jet engine mechanics. Consequently, it will offer the means for the majority of black students to gain the skills and expertise to qualify for the technical, paraprofessional, and modern service-oriented careers that will account for the bulk of job opportunities in the future.[40]

In some unpublished comments, James expresses his fears that career education may be just one step in a move towards increased class distinctions.

> It is difficult for me to conceive of some people whose education is "career oriented" becoming leaders and decision-makers in their communities, state or nation. Is "career ed" a vehicle for categorizing and pre-determining the life pattern of people? Is it an "elitist" concept that preserves the status of the elite? . . .
>
> . . . The cleavage between white collar and blue collar people seems to be growing greater as we move toward a society based on social class structure. It seems clear in housing patterns, educational opportunities and almost every other part of life. Talk about the "work ethic" is cheap! The spokesmen for these ideas are always in the "in-crowd." True, some people do feel that the world will guarantee them a living. I suggest that at least some of that feeling is due to the fact that many, including some who perform no useful career function, <u>are</u> guaranteed a living, and a good one at that.
>
> Career education is good. We must have people who can perform in roles consistent with the needs of society. Career education however is not democratic. In fact, it may be un-American! I say that because it is based on the idea that career choices cannot be made freely but only within some pre-determined orderly structure.[41]

This whole question of class distinctions is a sensitive one in a country founded on the proposition that it is a self-evident truth that all men are created equal, but it must be faced in any honest discussion of the problems inherent in career education.

Minority groups, who have never been treated as equal, are particularly conscious of the dangers. Johnson reminds us:

> For example, in 1865 at the end of the Civil War, there were yet 19 states in the union which, by law, absolutely forbade the educating of Blacks. . . . As late as 1917, a report by the Phelps-Stokes Fund revealed that in all seventeen of the states which had Negro Land Grant Colleges, only twelve students enrolled in courses that could be classified as college level. As a matter of fact, Southern legislatures and state departments of education were not overly friendly to these land grant institutions. They insisted on keeping them purely as trade schools, and opposed any offering of liberal arts programs in them. In one Black state college, the only way that Latin could be smuggled into the curriculum was by offering it under the title of "Agricultural Latin" (this was Florida A. & M.)[42]

However, it is not only a question of race or color. The upper layers of American society (with the exception of the French civilization in Louisiana) have always been predominantly Anglo-Saxon Protestants; the great immigrations to this country from Italy and other Mediterranean countries, from Ireland, and from eastern Europe are historically recent enough for members of these groups to remember the discrimination they faced and to be highly sensitive to any evidence that discrimination is continuing.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE SCHOOLS?

> *The man who will not work shall not eat.*
>
> St. Paul's second letter to the Thessalonians

Descriptions of actual programs in career education show that the present emphasis is still mainly practical and job oriented. This is not surprising when we consider how much easier it is either to expand an existing program or to design a new one which is directed toward a particular skill or group of skills than to try to change the whole philosophy of education. The December 1972 issue of *D & R report*, which is devoted to career/vocational education--the combined wording is significant--contains descriptions of several model programs.

1. The Employer Based Career Education Program, developed by the Appalachia Educational Laboratory, Inc., is planned to design, effect, and document an educational program outside the public school system, operating within employer and community settings.

2. Community Experiences for Career Education Program, under the direction of the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, is designed to test the effectiveness of using business and the community as the setting for obtaining a high school education.

3. Career Education Program by the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory of Albuquerque, for people between sixteen and forty-five who are unemployed, underemployed, and misemployed also emphasizes the bilingual and multicultural aspect.

4. Center for Vocational and Technical Education at Ohio State University sponsors a school-based comprehensive career education model, now being used by more than 85,000 students and 4,200 teachers to ensure that every youth, on leaving school, will have the skills necessary for job entry or for the next step on his career preparation ladder.

5. In Philadelphia the Academy for Career Education, developed by Research for Better Schools, Inc., arranges for most of the educational process to be conducted at employer locations, although some instruction is provided at a central facility in downtown Philadelphia.

6. Employer-Based Career Education, developed by the Far West Laboratory, is a voluntary educational alternative for thirteen- to eighteen-year-olds of all backgrounds and abilities, with a goal of comprehensive learning, not vocational training.[43]

The Vocation Teacher Education Committee of Northern Michigan University is offering a half-day Career Education Awareness Workshop. Goals include the following:

1. To acquaint educators and selected interest groups with the concepts of career education as they relate to the educational program of today.

2. To motivate teachers and school administrators to consider the adoption of career education concepts into their existing curricula.

3. To encourage an exchange of ideas relating to the implementing of career education programs on the local school level.

4. To inform schools where help can be obtained to assist in the development and implementation of classroom career education concepts.[44]

The National Center for Occupational Education at the North Carolina State University published in 1972 *Synopses of Selected Career Education Programs*, which consists of self-studies prepared by the directors of thirty-nine career education projects in thirty states. Each synopsis includes a description of the program's goals, and it is interesting to look at some typical examples.

> The broad goal of the program is to develop the vocational maturity of all students through four phases: first, to give them a clear picture of their capabilities and potential; second, to expose them to positive attitudes regarding the role of work; third, to provide an opportunity while in school to explore; and fourth, to provide while in school the opportunity to actually develop a marketable skill. Each of these phases corresponds to the four respective grade segments [Contoocook School District, Peterborough, New Hampshire]. . . .

The main goal is to establish a model system for future expansion of vocational education. The objectives of the program are to give a broad occupational orientation, specific training in job entry skills, work experience, intensive occupational guidance, and initial placement of all students at the completion of their schooling [Occupational-Vocational Education Model, Milford, Delaware]. . . .

The main goals and objectives of the program are to equip students with an occupational skill for job entry; prepare them to analyze a problem and make decisions so that they will be able to adapt to the changes in their life and occupations; and finally, develop in them the proper attitudes and behavior which will enable them to obtain and hold a job [Anne Arundel County, Annapolis, Maryland]. . . .

The main goals of the project are to help individuals develop a positive self-concept and greater degree of self understanding; to understand the range of educational career opportunities available; to help students develop and use the decision-making process more effectively; and to help them make smoother transitions at key points during their career life [State Department of Education, Baltimore, Maryland]. . . .

The essence of the career education program is academic and skill training combined to make available to students a broad range of options and to enable them to make relevant course and career decisions. Therefore, the program feels that job preparation available to students must include: information on where the jobs exist, and what kinds are available at entry levels; knowledge of requirements for advancement and where the jobs may lead; how to find employment and how to apply; application completion; how to interview; and the appropriate behavior attitudes and values needed to successfully hold a job [Pittsburgh Career Education Program, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania]. . . .

The goals are to have students develop awareness of the individual's self-characteristics; acquire an awareness of occupational areas within the community and build a frame of reference for the state and nation; acquire awareness of educational avenues; acquire the ability for decision making; acquire an awareness of the psychological and sociological meanings of work; and finally, to give special emphasis to programs for students identified as disadvantaged and/or handicapped [Cobb County Occupational and Career Development Program, Marietta, Georgia]. . . .

The main goals of the program are to have students, on completion of their education, be able to: exhibit a positive attitude toward the dignity of working; have a job choice or field of interest; have an understanding of work and how it contributes to the well-being of the community; evaluate job opportunities and find local, state, and national jobs; fill out applications, name references, and conduct interviews; and behave appropriately while working on the job or applying for it [Henderson County Schools, Henderson, Kentucky]. . . .

The primary goal of the program is to promote and offer relevant curriculum at all levels of instruction. The objectives are: to develop the student's individual potential, work attitudes, pride in work safety habits, personal development and understanding of career opportunities available in the world of work; to provide high school graduates with marketable skills; to direct qualified students to post secondary institutions for further training; to provide out-of-school youth and adults with continuous opportunity to prepare for job skills needed; to assist in reducing the drop-out rate through motivation; to provide vocational guidance and counseling; to coordinate with students, employment offices, and employers in job placement; to expand and explore and evaluate vocational education in new occupational fields; and to provide school administrators an evaluation of the career education program through follow-up of graduates [Kershaw County School District, Camden, South Carolina]. . . .

Maximum release of student human potential is the main goal of the project. Assisting students in clarifying self-identity, developing good attitudes, expanding career knowledge and developing job skills leading to appropriate job placement and/or continuing education are secondary goals of the program [Chesterfield County School District, Ruby, South Carolina]. . . .

The goals of the program are: to see that each student has an adequate knowledge of himself and sense of importance, as well as adequate knowledge of his environment in order to contribute to his home, school, and community; to provide the student experimental opportunities in order for him to make career decisions in a context of change; and finally, that he be able to apply the above interacting elements in areas of career development [Warren City Schools, Warren, Ohio]. . . .

The main objectives of the program are to familiarize the student with his world and provide him with the intellectual tools and rational habits of thought to play a satisfying role in it. The next objective is to promote the development of the basic habits of industry and provide exploratory experiences of the broad array of occupations--this will have three major outcomes: increased self-awareness, ability to analyze jobs and the ability to be more adept at career planning and decision making. The final objective is to provide specific occupational preparation built around significant groupings of occupations that will give students entry levels and preparation for further schooling or training [Racine Unified School District, Racine, Wisconsin]. . . .

It is the program's goal to dedicate itself to the idea that no youth will leave the school without an occupation or at least an ambition--or at the very least, without a fund of useful information about the world of work. . . . Unique to this program is a sheltered-work experience for junior high girls under the direction of the vocational home economics teacher. Further plans include a Day-Care Center where the girls would assist in the care of children from infancy up to the age of five. The school acts as a referral agent for persons in the community who need baby sitters [Byng School, Ada, Oklahoma]. . . .

> The objectives of this project are to provide students with broad occupational orientation, a variety of work experience through cooperative education, opportunities for those not previously enrolled in vocational programs to receive specific training in job entry skills, intensive guidance and counseling during the last year and assistance in initial placement [Kansas City Unified School District #500, Kansas City, Kansas]. . . .

> The overall objectives for the program are to be implemented by 1976, at which time 100 percent of the students leaving school will have participated in learning experiences that will assist them in their role as homemaker/wage earner; 60 percent leaving school will have a salable skill and will be placed in a job. Counseling and assistance will be open to all, graduation requirements will be adjusted and disadvantaged students will have related training available to them [Puyallup School District, Puyallup, Washington].[45]

Most of the remaining twenty-five programs included in this publication describe very similar goals. It is clear that a basic pattern has emerged, leading from the general orientation of the early grades to training for a specific job in the years before leaving school. Some schools describe their goals in general terms, others are highy specific (even down to the Oklahoma program's sideline as a baby-sitting bureau), but most of them are really thinking of something which is no more than an extension of vocational education.

The difficulties involved in implementing even the specifically work-oriented programs are outlined by Koerner:

> I have the greatest difficulty imagining just how it is that Career Education is going to be taught in the classroom, and what is to be the substance of the curriculum. No one has revealed, for instance, how teachers, who are widely believed to be inadequately trained in the subjects they teach now, are going to be adequately trained in a whole host of new subjects having to do with the labor market (they themselves are almost as far removed from the labor market as their students are). No one has revealed how people who are called guidance counsellors in the schools, who are widely believed to do a quite inadequate job now in guiding their students either to college or job, are going to avoid compounding their failures by having thrust on them vast new responsibility for helping to relate all of their students to the world of work.[46]

Other educators have also considered the problems involved in putting career education into practice. For example, Howe says:

> Apparently nobody knows exactly how to implement the concept of career education. As schools go to work on the problem, they must beware of the trap that much vocational education has fallen into--of finding the practices of schools continually behind the ever changing reality of the world of work that is altered constantly under pressure from changing technology. . . .

. . . I doubt that the large proportion of teachers in high schools are now in a position to make significant moves to reorient totally what they are doing in order to start anything that can be described as career education. . . . extensive retraining operations are necessary if the school is to make a change in the direction of becoming more career centered. . . .

But here comes a broad, new concept that, if followed to its logical conclusion, would revolutionize curriculum, require extensive retraining of teachers, incur the wrath of traditionally minded parents of college-bound youngsters, reawaken the basic education boys who were so vocal in the Rickover period, arouse the suspicions of minority groups, and generally make the lives of school superintendents and chief school officers who seriously pursue it vastly more complex than they already are. Career education, if acted upon vigorously, will cost more money and disturb more people than you and I can imagine.[47]

T. Anne Cleary, the Executive Director of Examinations of the College Entrance Examinations Board recommends:

Every student would be pressed to select a vocational field and begin specific preparation for it during the secondary years. The division of the secondary school curriculum into vocational, college preparatory, and general curricula, which is now rather common, particularly in urban systems, would be abandoned. . . .

The most likely general effect would seem to be that Career Education will force attention to systematic and sustained planning as a central activity of the student in the curriculum and, thus, will rejuvenate and greatly enlarge what is now called the "guidance" function of the schools. . . .

. . . Even if Career Education is taken to mean quite simply (1) a strengthening of vocational education, (2) a considerable increase in emphasis on vocational planning (beginning earlier and involving a wide variety of school personnel with much greater resources than ever before), and (3) attention by the school to certain job-related auxiliary services such as placement and retraining of adults, there are very serious practical problems to be overcome.[48]

It may well be that Green is correct when he says that "the greatest area for Career Education is not in the schools, but in the employment offices and executive planning offices of major employer institutions."[49]

SUGGESTED DIRECTIONS

Work is the grand cure of all the maladies and miseries that ever beset mankind.

Thomas Carlyle, Rectorial address, Edinburgh, 1886

One alarming aspect of the career education concept for many educators is the possibility that it will be made the paramount objective of all educational programs. Howe, for example, says:

> I don't think career education is by any means the only emphasis we need for making schools serve young people better. In some of the statements that I have read, I find disturbing suggestions that it may be a panacea. I am reasonably sure it is not. . . .
>
> . . . I happen to think that there are some other concepts that deserve just as much attention, if not more. . . .
>
> . . . But I would argue at the same time that there are very significant aspects of every man's life outside his role as an economic man. He is also a *citizen man*; he is also his own *personal man*; and he is, in addition the inheritor of man's past experience in all three of these roles--career, citizen, personal, as well as the heir to man's past creativity.[50]

While no one is likely to quarrel with equipping students to survive in the working world, there is a very real concern that this should not be seen as the only purpose of education. There is, we must hope, more to life than earning a living. Koerner addressed this question in his response to Marland:

> It is this compulsory and all-embracing character of Career Education which, together with its limited view of educational purpose, seems to me to most invite opposition. . . .
>
> . . . What a commentary it would be on universal education if after a century and more of experience with public schooling, on the scale that we have attempted it, the nation were to accept the proposition that the greatest aim of its schools, their highest goals and ultimate purpose, was not to lead people toward a worthy and examined life, not to provide them with some grasp of the long cultural, esthetic, and intellectual tradition of which they are a part--but that the highest goal is just to get people into jobs and to condition them to a life in the marketplace.[51]

The lack of a precise definition, which Marland considers so essential if the concept is to flourish, seems to many to create serious difficulties for those trying to implement it. Here is Howe again:

> The concept is so general that it runs the danger of being watered down into a mass of lip-service activity that brings about no fundamental change in the schools. . . .
>
> . . . The danger is that we have a concept here that it is extremely easy to espouse without doing anything really meaningful in the way of changing the schools so that they will serve young people better. There is at least the possibility that some of the initial strong support for career education comes from people who are not really planning to bring about any fundamental changes in the schools.[52]

He also shares Koerner's concern that basic skills should not be neglected.

> I am concerned about career education because I haven't seen enough emphasis in all the talk about it on what I regard as the most important contribution schools can make to successful careers--teaching people to read, write, figure, speak, and listen. . . . the fact remains that the capacity to communicate effectively is going to be increasingly important in the career opportunities of Americans as well as in their effectiveness as citizens. I don't see enough recognition of this point in the discussions on career education.[53]

However, Edmund Gordon, of Teachers College, Columbia University believes that the interpretations are not broad enough.

> Three factors, however, have contributed to a prevailing view of Career Education that is too narrow. First, we traditionally have considered all basic education that includes vocational skill mastery as a specific goal to be vocational education. Second, in an effort to give greater status to preparation of work, the employability potential of the students in a Career Education program has been overemphasized. Third, the traditional reservations held by academicians for anything that smacks of vocational education has enabled experts in vocational education to preempt early developments in the emergence of Career Education.[54]

Spradley identifies the necessary elements of career education as career information, career experience, career-skills training, contact with career models, and career decision making,[55] which are also those cited by most of the school districts in the North Carolina survey. He also lists the most important, potential, positive consequences as an appreciation for the dignity of many different kinds of work, increased motivation through a sense of competence, increased motivation through relevance, increased adaptability to change, increased avocational options, and equal opportunity for women.[56]

Wells feels that the programs must be universally available and also sees the need for a radical change in the school structure.

> If we are truly committed to career education for all, it must be *available* to all, especially to those who will have the most difficult time surviving without skills training. . . .
>
> The school of tomorrow, with a commitment to career education for all, may look quite different from the typical college prep/general education school of today. It will be an extension of the community, extending far beyond the confines of the school building to include business institutions and industries in that community. Meaningful career education is education with a purpose. That purpose is training that fulfills the needs of students, employers, and the community in one exciting venture.[57]

And finally, John Letson, superintendent of Atlanta Public Schools, warns against expecting too much.

> I think it will be a serious mistake if we present, through a "Madison Avenue" approach, the impression that we are embarking on a dramatically new and different educational course. What we are talking about is what good teachers and good schools have been doing for generations. Simply, Career Education is the continued effort to discover those techniques, approaches, and curriculum content that will most challenge, stimulate, and interest all pupils.[58]

TIME TO STAND AND STARE

What is this life if, full of care,
We have no time to stand and stare?--

No time to stand beneath the boughs
And stare as long as sheep or cows:

No time to see, when woods we pass,
Where squirrels hide their nuts in grass:

No time to see, in broad daylight.
Streams full of stars, like skies at night:

. . . . . .

A poor life this if, full of care,
We have no time to stand and stare.

W. H. Davies, "Time to Stand and Stare"

The Welsh poet and tramp, W. H. Davies, was no subscriber to the "work ethic," and so it does no violence to his beliefs to use one of his poems as the introduction to those writers who are concerned with aspects of education which see beyond the basic need to earn a living. They warn that, if we are to accept that career education is to be woven into the whole educational fabric, we should consider what we expect of education and not just of career education.

In an *Educational Leadership* article, Scobey welcomes the all-embracing aspects of career education, because she sees in them a way to cope with technological change and improve the quality of life.

> What is meant by career education is not yet well conceived. We know that it is a broader concept than either IA (industrial arts) or VE (vocational education), but definition is elusive. Recognized as an on-going process from the kindergarten through graduate school, the goal of CE is oriented to careers and career choice. But because considered career choice and success in that choice are in part dependent upon an effective general education, some leaders in the field believe that CE ideally includes the *total* educational program! Such an interpretation is encouraging because it broadens the previous limitations of both IA and VE. . . .

> . . . Since all people in our society live and work in a highly technical culture, children must learn to cope with it. Therefore CE in its broadest sense could be the study of technology, or analysis of the ways in which a social group provides for its material needs, and life patterns therein derived. . . .
>
> The citizen, then, and the learner, who is seeking to cope with his environment, must understand how technological developments can affect his life by changing his physical and psychological environment. Content provided in the elementary school, then, goes beyond traditional IA and VE programs. Career education, if we call it that, must include content related to the social sciences, to a broad consideration of the impact of technology on mankind, and how to use that technology for human welfare.
>
> Teaching about technology must include both *training* and *education*. *Training* is the development of skills which are replicative and applicative, including the psychomotor skills. Examples of such skills are the multiplication tables, or the use of a saw or hammer. The concrete, manipulative, experimental activities which help children develop skills in the use of tools and materials are, of course, the heart of the technology program. But teaching children about technology adequately and completely will also necessitate the associative and interpretive components of *education*. That is, concrete experiences are extended through observation and analysis of the technological processes of products. Insights into the processes of technological production are developed; interpretation of the materialistic components of our lives leads us to more complete social and personal utility.[59]

Her distinction between training and education, although I feel it is incomplete, is important. The same basic question is raised by Green in a thoughtful essay in which he differentiates between "work" and "job": he sees work as something positive and enduring on which a career can be based and a job as relating to a task for which we are paid but which may have no lasting or constructive outcome.

> We must recognize that having a life work is different from having a particular job. There is an enormous difference between the man who sees his life in prospect as involved in the accomplishment of some work and the man who sees his life in retrospect as a mere succession of jobs he has held. Only the first, in the strict sense, has what can be called a career. The difference is between the man who sees his career defined by the jobs he has held and the man who engages in a succession of jobs because they contribute to his career. Having a career is different from having employment, even steady employment, or even steady employment over a lifetime. Indeed, there is no reason why anyone should find his career in or through his mode of employment at all. Career Education should never be confused with vocational education insofar as that kind of education is directed toward training for jobs or for employment. Careers most certainly will not develop without employment; but neither should education for careers ever be confused with

education for employment. They are, therefore, two educational tasks that need to be distinguished--education for work or careers, and education for jobs or employment.[60]

Spradley defines a career as "progress along a pathway, not arrival at a destination,"[61] and if we accept this it becomes obvious that career education could be expected to produce major changes in society. However, as Green states:

> Education has never proved to be a useful policy instrument for the transformation of basic social institutions. One reason is that its effects are too indirect and too long in appearing for it to be an effective force in changing basic institutions over the short and middle-range periods within which educational policy is likely to be framed and sustained.[62]

And so we return to the problem of what people expect career education to be and to do. Here are some examples:

> The introduction into the schools of the concept of career education can be used as a lever to break down the status gap between the vocational and college preparatory curricula. . . .
>
> . . . Career education recognizes the rapidity of change in the modern world and its growing impact upon the work patterns of human beings, particularly in an industrialized society. It argues strongly for the provision of educational services to help retrain people throughout their lives, so that human beings do not have to suffer obsolescence and that they keep abreast of, and indeed control, the effect of technological change rather than vice versa.[63]

> One of the basic challenges of American education today is whether or not it can equip, for effective participation in the life of the country, the well over 20 percent of the population now excluded because of inadequate educational opportunity. This group of untrained youths is an explosive one, no longer willing to accept promises.[64]

> Career Education is a general and highly symbolic concept. As a proposed innovation, it is broad enough to include something for everyone; therein lies part of the problem. Like the Rorschach ink blot test, it becomes a projective device that enables different people to read their own meaning into the concept. What different groups see in Career Education will depend, in part, on their cultural values. . . .
>
> . . . The goal of Career Education is *to enable every person to make informed choices as he develops his own career.* The objective is to give each person a greater command over his own life. While this is often stated as a part of Career Education, I am suggesting that it be elevated to the status of its primary goal.[65]

Gordon spells out in some detail five specific educational goals:

1. Mastery of Basic Communication Skills
   Education for all in our society must be built on the mastery of basic skills in symbolic representation and utilization. The survival tools of the cybernetic era are communication skills including speech, reading, writing, and mathematical computation.

2. Problem Solving
   The movement from anxiety, confusion, and disorder to problem formulation involves competence in the analysis of data and experience leading first to problem identification followed by competence in the synthesis of concepts and postulates to the end that strategic approaches to problem solution may be generated.

3. Management of Knowledge
   Knowledge of the physical, biological, and social sciences is so vast as to preclude complete content mastery by any single person. Knowledge of the dimensions of these fields, mastery of their principles, skill in the creation or discovery of order or pattern in their data, and competence in the management and utilization of this knowledge are necessary. Emerging technology for the retrieval and technical management of information makes mastery of the content of knowledge a far less compelling goal for our citizens of the future.

4. Employment, Leisure, and Continuing Education
   Some writers see the world of the future as one where achievement through physical work will no longer be a prime requirement in our society. Utilization of leisure will emerge as a central problem. Rapidly changing technology is destroying the lifetime career in a single vocation. Today's children, as adults, may change not only jobs but kinds of work many times. Consequently, they will be required to make quick adaptation to radically different work situations. The demand will be for trainability so that education may continue at intervals throughout an individual's life.

   If other projections hold true, however, many of today's young people will live as adults in a society that no longer rewards physical work. The new society may reward, instead, self-expression through art, through interaction with nature, and through social interchange. Of course, creative self-expression may become important for vocational utilization as well as for aesthetic purposes.

5. Self-Management
   The achievement of goals such as these will involve the schools in activities more explicitly directed at personal, social, and character development. It may require a more adequate understanding of self and others than is usually achieved. It may make wider adaptations to multiethnic and multicultural societies essential. It may require a high degree of flexibility and capacity to accommodate to change as a primary

> survival tool. It may give added urgency to conflict resolution through avenues of nonviolence and the development of appreciative and respectful relationships with the worlds of nature, of man-made objects, of ideas, and of values. Thus the crucial demand for competence may be in self-management. . . .
>
> . . . Career Education must be concerned more with *facilitating the processes of living* and less with preparation for making a living--more with the development of a meaningful life than with earning a good livelihood.[66]

To pursue these thoughts would lead us into the whole profound and fascinating question of what education should really be about, a full consideration of which is beyond the scope of the present paper.* However, some tentative conclusions can be drawn from this review of the literature on career education, which may lead to a more realistic assessment of its potentialities.

A SENSE OF DIGNITY

> *Which of us . . . is to do the hard and dirty work for the rest--and for what pay? Who is to do the pleasant and clean work, and for what pay?*
>
> John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies*

The Pandora's box which has been opened in the career education debate has let loose a confusing variety of proposals, opinions, and beliefs, and some attempt must be made to examine their implications.

It seems apparent that career education serves once more to underline the inevitable conflicts between the aims of the individual and those of society. Each individual has desires and hopes which education should help him to fulfill. In some instances those desires will be unrealistic--not every child who daydreams of becoming a surgeon or a lawyer has the talent or intelligence necessary for those professions, but many who have are defeated by inadequate schools or the financial impossibility of continuing to higher education and years of professional training.

Even with advanced technology, there will continue to be many jobs seen by everyone as the lower rungs of the ladder. Who is to fill these jobs? If a significant number of people can be kept at a sufficiently low educational level, it can be hoped that they will be available for these jobs, but what does this do to promises of equal educational opportunity for all?

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*The clearinghouse will be publishing a study on this topic later in the year, which will examine some of the radical trends which are being recommended.

Fadiman recommends that we be more honest.

> The fact is that there is no dignity whatsoever in work. . . . Until we tell them that it is hopeless to look for fulfillment in most of the jobs that are available to them, we will be fooling them. . . . I believe that technology is going to create a new feudal system; it is already beginning to create it. . . . Technology is beginning to outmode the work ethic. . . . When they ask for relevance, they are not asking for the curriculum to be related to possible jobs at all. They are asking for relevance on the deepest possible level, the same thing that Plato was talking about, even if they use a fuzzy vocabulary to describe their feelings.[67]

Green has a related comment:

> Much of the current literature on Career Education appears to stress the need to combat widespread alienation from work. I suspect that this emphasis is fundamentally misplaced. As far as I know, there is little evidence of any basic alienation from work in American society. On the other hand . . . there is strong evidence of growth in alienation from the *institutions* of work or from the ways that jobs are structured and organized. There is alienation from the employment system.[68]

Spradley also warns against taking too narrow a view.

> The world of work is not merely forty hours a week, income and promotions. It is a lifestyle, a set of values and assumptions. It means membership in a group with its own customs and mores. The satisfactions and frustrations of a career are results of this wider occupational culture far more than they are dependent on the income and status of a job.[69]

We must also remember that culture has a historical dimension, which is often shortchanged in the programs for career education.

> In the name of adapting to a rapidly changing technology and of offering career training or of trying to understand current social issues that perplex all of us, schools run the danger of ignoring the traditional but ever-important function of passing on civilization. All young people need access to their heritage. No one knows better than America's minorities the debilitating effect of schooling that pays no attention to this.[70]

Television and radio now expose children to such a wide range of experience that it is no longer possible to deceive them about the realities of life. They soon realize that much of what the schools are trying to teach them has no reference to what is going on all around them. As Reimer points out:

> A second function of schools, more directly in conflict with their educational aims than custodial care, is the sorting of the young into the social slots they will occupy in adult life. Some of

> this sorting occurs at the high school and college level, when students begin to opt for this or that profession or trade and enter special curriculums of one to a dozen years in length for vocational preparation. Even this aspect of job selections in school is wasteful and often personally disastrous. Part of the waste is in the high proportion of dropouts, not only from professional and trade schools but from the professions and trades themselves, frequently after long and expensive investments have been made. Many people find that medicine or teaching is not for them--something they could have found out much sooner and much more cheaply if they had begun as orderlies, nurses, or teacher-aides. Even those who stay in the field of their choice do not escape extensive waste of time and money. According to the folklore of many occupations, the first several years of work are spent forgetting what was learned about the vocation in school. Counseling and other sincere and systematic efforts are made to minimize this kind of waste, but it is doubtful that, even at great additional cost, they can do more than slow its acceleration. The ever-greater separation of school from the rest of life widens a gap that no amount of effort can bridge.[71]

An absolutely essential requirement is that schools should prepare all their students for survival in the world, which entails an ability to read, write, calculate, communicate, and cope with the increasing intricacies of daily life. But survival also needs a sense of dignity which is sadly lacking for many today.

> We are dead wrong in feeling that all have to attain a baccalaureate degree in order to be respected, contributing members of our society. We are dead wrong if we make a young man feel less than worthy if he wants to be a plumber. But we do it.[72]

Until we start to treat our plumbers (and street cleaners and janitors and everyone else) with real respect, accepting their dignity as individuals, they are not going to believe that these jobs have any value or that they themselves have value as long as they remain in them. There has been some progress in the past few years, as more and more young people have rejected the materialistic foundations on which so much of American life has been based, but we still have a long, long way to go.

One step which could be taken without redesigning the entire system would be to provide everyone with a choice in education, so that each could select the kind which most appeals to him. The movement for alternative or free schools is one step in this direction and so, to a lesser extent, are the various experiments which include open classrooms, team teaching, and individualized curriculum. The danger is that these will be seen as merely passing fads or fashions, while to be effective they must be seen as a part of the broad historical growth of education. Likewise, their development must be supported, if necessary, over a period of years, so that they may have the opportunity to prove their worth. Another difficulty is that at present these alternatives are usually available only to those who can pay for them. Admittedly there are

many excellent and innovative teachers in ghetto schools, but the students are still locked into attendance at one specified school. They are denied the luxury of choice--in this, as in so many other things, they are being shortchanged.*

To bring about this change calls for a real revolution in the attitudes of all levels of society. The difficulty in bringing it about will be better appreciated if we remember that universal education is, historically, a very recent development. The English scholar, J. H. Plumb, summarizes this well.

> In the epoch that is now closing, social mobility was extremely rare. Schools and universities, like all forms of private culture, were produced by and for the elite. Schools were often rigorous and austere, designed to transmit the culture of the ruling class to the next generation of rulers. From Tibet to Ireland they were dominated by classical learning, for all societies revered the past as a storehouse of wisdom: history was used to demonstrate the divine nature of authority as well as the truth of religion, so that education was far more than learning a skill, it was the key to the understanding of life, of society, of the universal truths.[73]

Evans' comment indicates how this tradition affects our behavior today.

> Lower class students suffer the most because schools are concerned with occupations typically entered by middle class students and ignore the occupations usually staffed by persons of low socio-economic status. To add insult to injury, our middle class society then proceeds to convince lower class students that this type of occupational discrimination is good for everyone.[74]

Educationally speaking, the upper and middle classes have always been in control and have ensured that the lower classes received only as much education as was needed to enable them to function in those walks of life to which their masters had assigned them. In eighteenth century England the aristocracy and squirearchy had reached an enviable standard of living, but they felt no compulsion to educate the remainder of the population to their level--such a notion would have seemed to most of them to be totally irrational. While many people might show great personal kindness to their dependents, this was usually in the nature of a "charitable act," not a recognition of the other's right to a better life. No attempt was made to educate him to expect more. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the word "democracy" carries no connotation of education for all; in ancient Greece women and slaves were excluded from participation just as they were by the Founding Fathers.

Today the vast acceleration of technology and instant worldwide communication systems make it possible for the poorest and most remote groups to learn something of the possibilities for improvement, if only

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*The April 1973 issue of the *National Elementary Principal* (v. 52, n. 6) contains a number of useful articles on alternative modes of education.

on a material level, promoted by the consumer mentality that encourages more and more possessions. Instead of accepting that "such things are not for the likes of us," they are encouraged to reach out for these goods. To do this, however, money is needed, and money usually comes from jobs. Education is the major legally and socially acceptable way to achieve such upward mobility, and if we offer the carrot of desirable possessions while at the same time withholding the means of grasping that carrot, there is bound to be trouble.

As Alexander Pope said, "A little learning is a dangerous thing," because, for at least some of those who have it, it becomes addictive; people develop a tendency to demand more and to take upon themselves the decisions as to how much education is desirable and how they should use it. No ruling class ever willingly relinquishes its power. When demands for universal education become too insistent, a delaying action is developed to ensure that power does not pass into new hands. (When Paulo Freire started to educate--really educate--the Brazilian peasant, he quickly found himself in jail.)

It is hardly surprising, then, that so many feel that "career education" is merely a newer name for vocational education and that both are a ruse to maintain the old class and racial barriers.

To expect a new educational program to bring about such a revolution is unrealistic. To ask this of our teachers may be one of the greatest compliments ever paid them, implying as it does that we believe that they can succeed where politicians and philosophers have failed.

I think it would be more realistic and more honest if, while keeping this ultimate goal in mind, we considered what can in fact be done on a limited budget and with fallible human beings to give those who need it most a better chance in life.

AFTERWORD

Blessed is he who has found his work; let him ask no other blessedness.

Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present*

On June 6, 1973, *Report on Education Research* carried a report on the Forward Plan for Career Education Research and Development prepared by the National Institute of Education Career Education Task Force. This plan proposes to concentrate the career education program on youth and mid-career adults, particularly women, who are most affected by problems of career entry and progression, with possible emphasis on minorities at a later date.

These new proposals have not yet been approved by the National Council on Educational Research, which is NIE's policy-making body, but they suggest that the program may indeed be more limited than the one originally proposed by the Office of Education. This may well prove to be a good development, if it can enable some real progress to be made for even limited groups. We can all hope that the debates of the past two years have served to define the problems and that we can now move on to some solutions.

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	201 - 300	9.87
	301 - 400	13.16
	401 - 500	16.45
Each Additional 100 pages or portion thereof.		3.29

1. Book Rate or Library Rate postage is included in above prices.
2. The difference between Book Rate or Library Rate and first class or foreign postage (outside the continental United States) rate will be billed at cost.

ERIC DOCUMENT REPRODUCTION SERVICE IS OPERATED FOR THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION BY LEASCO INFORMATION PRODUCTS, INC.

TERMS AND CONDITIONS

1. TERM OF CONTRACT

This order is not subject to cancellation.

2. PRICE CHANGES

Leasco Information Products Inc. (LIPCO) may at any time increase the price of any item by giving the customer thirty (30) days notice that there will be an increase. LIPCO will notify Customer of the amount of the increase not less than ten (10) days prior to the effective date. If the increase is not acceptable, Customer must terminate the affected portion of this Agreement notifying LIPCO prior to the effective date of the increase. If Customer does not so notify LIPCO the increase shall be deemed accepted and shall govern all shipments from the effective date.

3. SUBSCRIPTION PRICE AND PAYMENT

The Subscription Price paid by the standing order and special collection customers is based upon an estimate of the number of microfiche to be delivered to the Customer and the shipping cost. The Subscription Price shall be applied as a credit against the Actual Price of the microfiche. The Actual Price of the microfiche provided by LIPCO shall be determined by multiplying the actual number of microfiche delivered to the Customer by the applicable price listed in the Schedule of Prices. The Prices listed in the Schedule of Prices do not include any sales, use, excise or similar taxes which may apply to the sale of the microfiche to the Customer. The cost of such taxes, if any, shall be borne by the Customer and will be billed separately by LIPCO.

Statements will be provided periodically to inform the Customer of the number of microfiche shipped and the remaining dollar balance of the subscription.

Payment terms shall be net thirty (30) days from date of invoice. Payment shall be without expense to LIPCO.

4. PROPRIETARY INFORMATION

All materials supplied hereunder are proprietary and may not be reproduced for resale without the prior written consent of LIPCO.

5. CONTINGENCIES

LIPCO shall not be liable to Customer or any other person for any failure or delay in the performance of any obligation if such failure or delay, (a) is due to events beyond the control of LIPCO including, but not limited to, fire, storm, flood, earthquake, explosion, accident, acts of the public enemy, strikes, lockouts, labor disputes, labor shortage, work stoppages, transportation embargoes or delays, failure or shortage of materials, supplies or machinery, acts of God, or acts or regulations or priorities of the federal, state, or local governments, (b) is due to failures of performance of subcontractors beyond LIPCO's control and without negligence on the part of LIPCO, or (c) is due to erroneous or incomplete information furnished by Customer.

6. EXTENSION

The subscription packages ordered by the standing order and special collection customers shall be automatically extended at the expiration of the current designated year for successive one-year periods unless the customer shall notify LIPCO to the contrary at least 30 days prior to the commencement of each additional year.

7. LIABILITY

LIPCO's liability, if any, arising hereunder shall not exceed restitution of charges.

In no event shall LIPCO be liable for special, consequential, or liquidated damages arising from the provision of services hereunder.

8. WARRANTY

LIPCO MAKES NO WARRANTY, EXPRESS OR IMPLIED, AS TO ANY MATTER WHATSOEVER, INCLUDING ANY WARRANTY OF MERCHANTABILITY OR FITNESS FOR ANY PARTICULAR PURPOSE.

9. CHANGES

No waiver, alteration, or modification of any of the provisions hereof shall be binding unless in writing and signed by an officer of LIPCO.

10. DEFAULT AND WAIVER

A. If Customer fails with respect to this or any other agreement with LIPCO to pay any invoice when due or to accept any shipment as scheduled, LIPCO may without prejudice to other remedies defer further shipments until the default is corrected or terminate this Agreement.

B. No course of conduct nor any delay of LIPCO in exercising any right hereunder shall waive any rights of LIPCO or modify this Agreement.

11. GOVERNING LAW

This Agreement shall be construed to be between merchants. Any question concerning its validity, construction, or performance shall be governed by the laws of the State of New York.

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